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ABSTRACT

Two articles are presented in this research bulletin. The first, entitled "Acculturation in Puerto Rican Families," assesses the degree of acculturation of 100 sets of married children of 100 Puerto Rican families living in New York City. Attitudes toward language, identity, and values are used as criteria. The specific values the study investigates are: (1) attitudes toward the family; (2) the presence or absence of a fatalistic outlook; (3) attitudinal preferences for Puerto Rican ways; (4) response to the "modernity" of American society; (5) trust of people outside the Puerto Rican group. The study concludes that the married children are much closer to mainland values and ideas than their parents are, but notes that none of the 100 chose an entirely American identity, indicating that, despite generational differences, they have still retained Puerto Rican culture as part of their identity. The second article, entitled "Kinship Networks and the Settlement Process: Dominican and Colombian Immigrants in New York City," uses recent data from a survey of Dominican and Colombian immigrants in New York City to examine the relationship between kinship networks and the migration and settlement process. The data show that chain migration characterizes these flows, inasmuch as these particular migrants are well linked into a migration system in which some relatives and friends precede them, some come with them, and still others subsequently join then in New York. Relatives present at the time of arrival provide multiple forms of assistance, particularly with accommodation and employment searches. In addition to receiving assistance during their settlement the migrants, particularly male migrants, continue to be an important link to relatives in the home country: they provide help for relatives who wish to migrate to New York and regularly send remittances to relatives in the home country. Furthermore, analysis of the data clearly demonstrates that familial aid received at the time of first arrival in the United States does have an impact on the subsequent course of events in the life-cycle of the immigrant. When the aid is more extensive, a tendency to remain within the protective confines of the immigrant community results, even when the different backgrounds among the migrants are taken into account. (RDN)

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MIGRATION, ACCULTURATION AND FAMILY PROCESSES

Immigration has played an important role in the history of the United States, beginning with the early large-scale movement from Northwestern Europe and extending to today's influx from Latin America and Indochina. Both the articles contained in this issue of the *Research Bulletin* focus on the integration of Hispanic immigrant groups into American society.

The first article, "Acculturation in Puerto Rican Families," by Kevin J. Colleran, is based on the author's doctoral dissertation which studied the relationship between a migration-induced change in the socio-cultural environment of parents and their children and intergenerational processes within the family. The data for this study were taken from a research project recently conducted at the Hispanic Research Center (HRC). The results of this research will be published shortly under the title of *Puerto Rican Families in New York City: Intergenerational Processes*, by Lloyd H. Rogler and Rosemary Santana Cooney (Waterfront Press, Maplewood, New Jersey). This empirical study examines the lives of 100 intergenerationally linked Puerto Rican families. Each family consists of two generations: the mothers and fathers in the parent generation and their married children and respective spouses in the child generation. Thus, the 100 intergenerationally linked families represent 200 married couples, making a total of 400 persons. In 56 of the families a daughter is the link between the parent and married-child generations; in 44 families a son represents the link. At the time of the study, members of the parent generation were in their mid-fifties; the majority had come to the continental United States as young adults in their mid-twenties, and had lived on the mainland for nearly 30 years. Almost all of their children either were born on the mainland or had arrived during their preschool years. When interviewed, the members of the child generation were in their late twenties. Practically all of these families live in New York City, mostly in the borough of the Bronx.

In addition to using a complex intergenerational family model, the study also required lengthy interviews with the Puerto Rican families in a setting, New York, that is uncongenial to social research. The data-collection problems encountered during the course of this study have been described in detail in an article, "Coping with Distrust in a Study of Intergenerational Puerto Rican Families in New York City," by Lloyd H. Rogler, Osvaldo Barreras, and Rosemary Santana Cooney, in the January-April 1983 issue of the *Research Bulletin* (Vol. 6, Nos. 1-2). Because of problems of distrust, the field team that did the interviewing was Hispanic, bilingual, and bicultural, as well as intellectually and emotionally committed to the Hispanic community and to the research. In order to obtain as broad a sample as possible, differences in socioeconomic status were maximized by recruiting participants in the census tracts with the highest and lowest percentages of adults of Puerto Rican background who had graduated from high school. The process of identifying and interviewing families that fit the study's intergenerational model required almost two full years of field work from July 1976 to May 1978.

Based on the material gathered for this study — ranging from information on ethnic identity, husband and wife relations, and social mobility to intergenerational continuities and discontinuities — the article presented here by Dr. Colleran focuses on the 100 members of the child generation. The author examines their degree of acculturation to U.S. society and the factors associated with the preservation or loss of their parents' culture.

The second article presented in this issue, "Kinship Networks and the Settlement Process: Dominican and Colombian Immigrants in New York City," by Douglas Gurak and Mary Kritz, examines the relationship between kinship networks and the migration and settlement process. The central goal of this research, now being conducted at the HRC, is to operationalize the process of settlement; that is, the transition from a transient condition to one of more permanent residence; and to analyze the relationship of this process to employment, assimilation, and adjustment. Recognizing the growing importance of non-Puerto Rican Hispanics in the social life and economy of New York City, this study will provide new data on several dimensions which are crucial to understanding the meaning of recent immigration for both immigrants and society at large.

The second article presented here, while focusing on the relationship between the migration process and the family as does the first, gives special attention to the migrants' ties to kin in both their home country and New York City. Structural life-history interviews were conducted with a probability sample of 643 Dominican and 261 Colombian immigrants who were residing in either Queens or the northern half of Manhattan at the time of the survey in 1981. The interviews sought to reconstruct the economic, family formation, and migration histories of these immigrants. A considerable amount of information was gathered on kinship assistance at various stages of the migration process. The article presented here describes the types of assistance received from relatives at the time of initial arrival in the United States. It goes on to compare the situations of Colombians and Dominicans, and of males and females. Finally, it demonstrates that different kin-assistance patterns at the time of arrival do affect acculturation and assimilation processes.

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ACCULTURATION IN PUERTO RICAN FAMILIES IN NEW YORK CITY

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There are few issues in sociology that arouse as much professional and popular response as the question of what has happened to immigrants and to their cultures in American society. However, despite the vast amount of writing in this area, there is little basic agreement on the essential issue: are the various groups of immigrants able to retain a significant amount of their cultural heritage within the homogenizing confines of American society? In addition to the difficulties raised by the political nature of discussions about culture and ethnicity, the resolution of this question is hampered by the lack of clear and consistent definitions of cultural elements and by the scarcity of adequate data, particularly on recently arrived groups. The only way that progress can be achieved in this area is by carefully defining these cultural elements and examining them in empirically oriented studies. This is the procedure that will be followed in this presentation as we examine the acculturative patterns of a group of Puerto Ricans in New York City.

We examine the adaptation of this particular group in the light of a study on intergenerational Puerto Rican families described in the introductory section of this issue. We will not consider all aspects of Puerto Rican culture here; rather we will focus on certain elements which are central to that culture — language, identity, and values. Clearly the Spanish language is an essential part of Puerto Rican culture, as English is of American culture. The loss of ability to use Spanish and a corresponding greater fluency in English would certainly be evidence of acculturation. On the other hand, the preservation of the Spanish language and its frequent use in social or formal settings could be regarded as evidence of cultural persistency. Similarly, the question of identity is a fairly simple one. If a person chooses an American or Puerto Rican-American identity, this is a sign of adaptation to mainland society. In contrast, the selection of an entirely Puerto Rican identity would demonstrate a lack of acculturation.

The situation in the final area of consideration, the values that are distinctive to Puerto Rican culture, is far more tenuous. Based on the evidence of previous studies, three will be used here, each composed of a series of items centering on that particular value.[1] The first will be familism and will be concerned with changes in traditional Puerto Rican attitudes about the family and its priority in social relations. The second will center on the fatalistic outlook that many studies find to be a common attitude among Puerto Ricans. Finally, we will explore each person's attitudinal preferences for Puerto Rican ways.

Because acculturation also involves an acceptance of and familiarity with mainland society, two additional values will be examined. One will center on "modernity," an essential part of contemporary American society. The second will be concerned with "trust." The initial reaction of most recent immigrants would be distrust of anyone outside of their own group. If Puerto Ricans in New York are moving away from the idea that the outside world and its institutions are not to be be trusted, then, this can be taken as evidence that they are more comfortable in mainland society, which would be a sign of acculturation. With these two values, therefore, acculturation is viewed not only as a loss of traditional Puerto Rican values, but as a positive process, an adoption of new attitudes and values.

As stated above, the family study conducted at the Hispanic Research Center focused on 100 Puerto Rican families. Each of these families contains 100 sets of parents, each of whom was born in Puerto Rico or is of Puerto Rican ancestry, and 100 sets of married children and spouses, each of whom is also of Puerto Rican birth or ancestry. The central focus of this presentation will be the 100 married children.[2] They have been selected for several reasons. First, they are most likely to be susceptible to the pressures of acculturation. For the most part, the parents in this study arrived on the mainland at an older age with many of their opinions and values already formed by the island society. They are less likely to change. Their 100 offspring, on the other hand, are literally caught between two cultures: the one they had learned at home in their formative years of growth and the one they face now as they work in American society. Thus, they are an ideal group to examine systematically for evidence of acculturation.

Second, the responses of the parents of each one of these 100 people to the same interview schedule are available. Here, the responses of the parents will be especially valuable. Since they were almost all raised in Puerto Rico, their ideas and values will provide something of an independent confirmation of the values that have been selected here as characteristic of the island culture. In addition, their responses will provide a standard by which to measure the movement toward the norms of the mainland on the part of their children. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, modern statistical techniques can be used to ascertain whether there is parental influence in the choice of values, language, or identity by their own children. This is an area where many assumptions are made, but little hard data are available.

Finally, a key distinction can be made among the 100 married children on the basis of their generation on the mainland. Thirteen of them came to New York when they were 13 years old or older. Thus, their formative years were spent in Puerto Rico. Here, they will be regarded as first-generation immigrants. The majority (75) were either born in the United States of immigrant parents or arrived here with their immigrant parents at a much younger age. Therefore, they are the second-generation children of immigrant parents. Finally, 12 of them were born on the mainland of parents at least one of whom arrived on the mainland before the age of 13. By this definition, then, these 12 have at least one second-generation parent (three of them have two second generation parents). In our analysis, these 12 people can be viewed as third-generation residents of the United States. This distinction on the basis of generation of residence on the mainland will yield a fuller picture of the diversity of the experience of Puerto Ricans on the mainland.

We will examine the material that is available on the degree of acculturation of these 100 people in order to address the question of whether and how much they are acculturating to American society. Their position will be examined in each of the areas that were selected as intrinsic parts of Puerto Rican or American culture: identity, language, and values. When their responses are compared to those of their parents, an accurate picture of their actual acculturation in these areas will be available. If their answers are similar, then those who advocate the enduring quality of Puerto Rican culture in this new environment will receive support. However, if there are substantial differences between the older and younger groups and if the married children seem to be abandoning parts of traditional Puerto Rican culture, this will be evidence that acculturation is at work.

The Study Group

Before turning to a comparison of the parents and their married children in this study, a few remarks must be addressed to their differences from the entire Puerto Rican population in New York City. According to Rogler and Cooney, the parents are similar to other Puerto Ricans in the city, but they are more upwardly mobile than their counterparts on the Island.[3] In education, for example, 20 per-

cent of the mothers and 23 percent of the fathers graduated from high school. The figure for their age group in New York was 20 percent.[4] In contrast, however, their children were remarkably atypical. When compared with other Puerto Ricans of the same age in New York, they had far more education, and were more than twice as likely to have attended college. These differences carried over to their work patterns: the young women were more than twice as likely to be employed and the young men were three times as likely to be in professional or managerial positions than were their counterparts in the whole Puerto Rican population in New York City.[5]

In order to establish a pattern of cultural change or persistence, the scores of the married children can be compared to their parents in each area of interest. Before doing so, it is necessary to indicate that there are dramatic differences between these two groups of people. Obviously, with the parents being in their fifties and the children in their twenties, they are at different stages in their life cycles. However, another critical difference, which will be central in the discussion of the reasons for any cultural changes that appear, is in their age of arrival on the mainland. Of the 200 parents, only 15 were either born in New York or arrived before the age of 13. The formative early years of all the others were spent in Puerto Rico. The average age of arrival for all the mothers in this sample was almost 25; for the fathers, it was more than 27. For the 100 children in this sample, the situation is very different. Only 13 of them arrived in New York when they were over 13 years old. Of the rest, 48 were born on the mainland and another 24 came with their families before they were six. The final 15 arrived in New York between the ages of six and twelve. Thus, the vast majority of the children in this study grew up in New York, while more than 90 percent of their parents spent their childhood and adolescence in Puerto Rico. This fact alone would lead one to expect differences in their positions in many areas.

There are other major differences between the two groups of people. Perhaps the most striking is in the area of education. Although only 20 percent of the parents were high school graduates, 89 of the 100 children had at least this much education. Eighteen of these also completed some college. These differences are clearly reflected in the average number of years of education for each group: under eight for the mothers and fathers and more than 13 for their children. Obviously, education will be another key variable in searching for the reasons for cultural change between the two generations. When the average of one group fails to reach grammar school graduation and that of the other exceeds high school graduation, the impact of education should be evident.

A final area of interest is the question of income. Except for those who are retired, the parents, presumably, are in their peak years of earning. In general, they would not be expected to increase their income to any great extent in the future. Their children, in contrast, are only beginning their careers. In the coming years, they will probably earn considerably more money. Nevertheless, the income of the younger generation in this sample already exceeds that of their parents. The total income of the parents averages under $10,000, but that of their children is over $11,400. This difference, at the relatively early occupational level of the younger generation, is fairly dramatic.[6] Income will therefore be an additional factor to consider in evaluating the reasons for cultural change.

In looking at these 200 parents and their 100 children, then, we are dealing with two groups that differ dramatically, not only in age, but in experience, education, and income. While these differences may not impact on every area under consideration, it is highly unlikely that they will be without effect.

Ethnic Identity

The first area to be examined is the person's self-identification. Here, the options of either exclusively Puerto Rican or American, as well as a combination of the two, were offered as possibilities. Not one of the 200 parents and 100 children chose an entirely mainland identity. Instead they called themselves either exclusively Puerto Rican or Puerto Rican-American. Fifty-five of the children, 49 of the fathers and 34 of the mothers chose the bicultural identity. While the difference between the mothers and the children was statistically significant, that between the fathers and the young generation was not. It is evident that the young people are retaining their Puerto Rican heritage as a symbol of their identity even when they were not born in Puerto Rico and have little direct connection with the island and its culture.

Language Use and Knowledge

The second area of consideration is language use and ability. Here, the differences between the two generations were far more apparent. In various types of social interaction, the children were more likely to use English than their parents were.[7] This is especially interesting because the questions probed what language was used with one's spouse, children, friends and neighbors. The fact that these younger Puerto Ricans frequently speak English even in intimate contacts within the family relationships indicates a high degree of adaptation to mainland society.

One possible explanation for the greater use of English among these 100 people is that they are more comfortable in this language because they speak and understand it better. When the question of their knowledge of English and Spanish was explored, this indeed proved to be the case. Their own evaluations of their ability to speak, write, understand and read the two languages differed markedly from their parents. The children rated themselves as having less knowledge of Spanish than their parents did. For knowledge of English, the situation was reversed. Here, the children ranked themselves higher than did their parents. The differences in each of these scales for knowledge of English and Spanish were significant in comparison between the younger generation and either of their parents.[8]

In their individual comments about the language issue, some of the younger people mentioned both economic and cultural advantages to being bilingual. The possibility of returning to Puerto Rico meant, for some, a definite need to preserve the ability to speak Spanish. None of them questioned the value of knowing either language, but a few did comment on the difficulty of preserving Spanish in American society. One stated that the "system" here was trying to destroy the Puerto Rican language and culture and that he struggled to preserve the Spanish language, but acknowledged that his children would find it difficult to do so. In addition, many people in both generations felt that there was discrimination against Spanish-speaking people in favor of both whites and blacks who spoke English.

The issue of language, then, for the 100 young people in this sample is a complex one. Despite their recognition of the value of retaining their ability in Spanish on the mainland, they are clearly losing some knowledge of it and also using it far less than their parents. Although they would like their children to retain Spanish, they recognize the difficulty of doing so in American society.

Values

Familism. In the area of values and attitudes, five scales were used to search for a pattern of assimilation to life in New York. The first centered on the traditional value of familism that has been found to be prevalent in Puerto Rican society. In this area, a series of "familistic" statements on a scale which ranged from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree" was used to judge each person's standing on the value of familism. The children scored at significantly less familistic levels than both mothers and fathers. Although there were occasional favorable remarks about the change in this area, such as the woman who was pleased by the fact that her husband was more sharing than traditional Puerto Rican men, most people seemed to sense that something valuable was being lost in the transition to American society. Perhaps the clearest example of this pattern is in the area of respect.

Although the term respect was not used by the interviewers, 22 of the children and 57 of their parents specifically mentioned the need for respect and the lack of it in family and other relationships in New York. Like their parents, the children who lamented this lack attributed it to various factors, such as the loss of family unity and closeness, the desire for economic advancement, and the individualism of Americans, which was adopted by some Puerto Ricans here. Clearly, therefore, both parents and children in this sample realize and to some extent regret the changes that are taking place among their people in New York. Only about 30 percent found Puerto Ricans here to be the same as they were on the island.[9] The majority of the parents and children (about 58 percent) thought that Puerto Ricans here were less generous. They found them less concerned about others, particularly family members, than they were in Puerto Rico. As one woman declared: "Puerto Ricans here are less generous; they are too proud . . . they don't speak Spanish . . . they forget who they are and take on American ways." One of the daughters tied this phenomenon of assimilation directly into the issue of the family: "The North Americans are less sociable and Puerto Ricans get to be like them . . . Our traditions are better . .. There are family ideals. You learn to be more generous and united to your family."

Of these 300 people, only about 10 percent maintained that Puerto Ricans were more generous in New York than they were in Puerto Rico. The few favorable comments about the changes on the mainland were usually about economic factors. One person stated that American society is better because it is based on equality not "compadrazgo" or "who you know." Several felt that their children had to know the ways of both cultures. In addition, a few of the women were happy about the decline in "macho" attitudes among the men in New York. However, as indicated above, most feel that the changes among Puerto Ricans in New York are not for the better. Their comments center on the loss of respect and the decline in family unity. These individuals confirm what was evident in the familism scores of these 300 Puerto Ricans in New York. There has been a statistically significant decline in this traditional value among the younger generation in New York. This change in the traditional familism on the part of the younger generation corresponds to the feeling of both generations that mainland society is causing harmful changes among families and individuals. Despite the economic advantages of migration, Puerto Ricans are clearly aware that something valuable is being lost in New York.

Fatalism. A second area where evidence of change from traditional Puerto Rican values was sought was in the question of fatalism. As in the family scale, the subjects were asked to respond to a series of statements that reflected a fatalistic attitude. As with familism, they could respond on a scale from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." Once again, the attitude of the 100 children was significantly less fatalistic than that of their parents. In particular, they were less likely to teach their children not to expect much from life and less likely to believe that success in life is predetermined. As in the case of familism, there is clear evidence of a change away from a traditional Puerto Rican value among these younger Puerto Ricans. The development of a more activist approach to life with the corresponding idea that the individual can forge his own destiny are definite signs of acculturation to the New York environment.

As in the case of the family values, many of the participants seemed to be aware of the decline in this fatalistic attitude among themselves or other Puerto Ricans. A few of them, usually in the older generation, described Puerto Ricans as "arrogant" in the United States. One man said, "They think they are Americans; they are arrogant." One of the daughters in the sample put it this way: "They forget their roots; here, Puerto Ricans become aggressive." However, in this area, feelings do not seem to run as strong as when the subject of the family is under consideration. As one father said, "The children should keep their family sentiments and ties and their pride in their Puerto Rican parents, but you cannot maintain all the traditions here." His daughter confirmed that some of the traditions were too strict or no good. Others found that some of the Puerto Rican ways were disadvantageous in New York. Thus, while she said that most of the traditions made one more stable and well behaved, especially having a close family, a daughter added that Puerto Ricans should not be humble here; they need to be much more aggressive. A third-generation daughter concluded, "I haven't kept these traditions so I can't ask my children to keep them." Another added that some traditions, such as accepting one's fate, are simply not practical in American society.

As far as realizing that changes are taking place in the traditional fatalistic and accepting attitude of Puerto Ricans in New York, then, the participants in this study seem quite knowledgeable. The data here confirm that the members of the younger group are indeed less fatalistic than their parents. They are far more likely to have an activist and planning approach to life. In their individual comments in this area, however, unlike familism, there does not seem to be much regret about this sign of acculturation in New York. Aside from a few remarks about the developing of an arrogant attitude by Puerto Ricans in New York, there was little of the pain and confusion that were expressed about the decline in family unity and devotion. Instead, most of the participants were inclined to feel that a more active approach is needed in New York. The young people in this sample are clearly moving in this direction and most do not seem to regret it. They have seen that a more activist approach is likely to be successful in New York.

Attitude preference. The third area in which evidence of acculturation will be sought is in a broad consideration of the preferences that people express as far as residence, language, and desires for their children. On each of six questions the participants were offered the choice of a mainland, a bicultural, or a Puerto Rican response. Based on these answers, each person received a score on a general attitude preference scale. These scores, once again, revealed substantial differences between the parents and their children. The mothers and fathers were inclined toward the Spanish-Puerto Rican side of the scale. In contrast, the young people were more likely to choose an English-language or American response. Thus, once more, there is evidence for a good deal of cultural change among these younger Puerto Ricans. Here, however, the issue is much more conscious than in the case of very fundamental values such as familism or fatalism. In this case, the children expressed a preference for both cultures or, in some instances, the American culture exclusively.

In their comments about the individual items that compose this attitude preference scale, the parents, as one might expect, were more likely to lament the loss of the Spanish language, a desire to return to Puerto Rico, and a hope that their children would maintain Puerto Rican ways and marry another Puerto Rican. In particular, comments about the connection between their heritage and a sense of identity were frequent. One father stressed that children must keep the traditional way so they will "understand where they come from." A mother explained that these customs help children to "know who they are." Another stressed that people "must remember Puerto Rico even if they are born here." Despite this general insistence on the desirability of preserving language and culture, there were some parents who saw the inevitability of change. One mother acknowledged that "each generation loses more of its heritage." Another stated that "when the children learn English, they become American." Indeed, some even acknowledged that the change, if not pleasing, was at least expedient. As one parent said, "You need American values to prosper here." Thus, in this area, the individual comments of the 200 parents in the study were inclined to express regret about the changes that they were very conscious of among Puer-

to Ricans in New York.[10] Accompanying this feeling, however, there was some recognition and acceptance of the inevitability of change on the mainland, as there was with fatalism.

The attitude of the 100 younger people was quite different. They too realized that acculturation was and would continue to occur in these areas. However, there was little of the sorrow that their parents had expressed. One woman, who considered herself as purely Puerto Rican, stressed that her children "need to be American." Another added that the children would have to change because "this is their country." One of the young husbands, although he chose a dual form of identity, commented that he had the same opportunities as anyone else "because I am an American." In general, these younger people recognized that change would occur because "this is another country," and children "have to accept American values." Unlike their parents, they did not seem to be upset by this pattern. Their lower scores on identification with Puerto Rican preferences are matched by lack of regret about these changes in their individual comments. As one son, who was in the process of moving his family to the suburbs, said, "to survive, you must assimilate." Clearly, therefore, the 100 children are very different from their parents both in their preferences and in their evaluation of the effect of acculturation. As in the case of familism and fatalism, they are certainly moving toward mainland patterns and away from their traditional values. Furthermore, only in the question of family unity did these 100 people seem to regret the changes or wish that they had not occurred.

Adaptation to the Mainland

The final area in which to search for evidence of cultural change among Puerto Ricans in New York is in their acceptance of and comfort with mainland society and values. Here, two variables have been created, trust and modernity. In the first area of trust, the issue is fairly simple. A recent immigrant to New York is not likely to adopt a trusting attitude toward his new environment. A lack of confidence and a tendency to feel secure only with members of their own group would not be unique to Puerto Ricans arriving on the mainland. Instead, it would be an almost universal reaction on the part of new arrivals. The development of a more positive attitude toward the new society and its people can, therefore, be viewed as evidence of acculturation to New York rather than as a rejection of a specific Puerto Rican value. Similarly, the development of a more modern attitude shows movement toward contemporary American society. Clearly, while some development has occurred there in recent years, Puerto Rico is not nearly as developed as the mainland in this sense. Therefore, Puerto Ricans arriving in New York would be expected to be less modern in their attitudes. The expectation would be that their descendants, if they are acculturating, would be more accepting of the mainland approach in this area.

Trust. For the first value, that of trust, there were significant differences between the 200 parents and their children. The older people were far more likely to agree that children must be taught not to count on people and to trust only those they know well. In addition, they were more suspicious of people's motives and actions in interpersonal relationships. For example, they felt that others tended to be helpful out of self-interest and to repay kindness with ingratitude. They also were likely to be less open about their personal lives because both friends and relatives might take advantage of this knowledge.

Measurement of this value showed significant differences between the two groups. The younger people were more comfortable and trusting in New York than their parents were. However, although they were different from their parents, the children indicated that they were still not totally at home in New York. They retained some distrust for those around them. They were less suspicious of others than their parents, but they were far from completely sanguine about what to expect in all their relationships. In short, the differences with their parents were significant and noteworthy, but the realities of life in New York and, probably the experiences of prejudice and discrimination, have preserved a good deal of suspicion and lack of trust.

In addition to their lower scores on the value of trust, the parents differed in another way from their children. The individual comments of the older people were likely to be far more global. A number of them concluded that "You can't trust anyone here." No one in the younger group was that broadly negative in reflecting on life in New York. However, they did tend to agree with statements that reflected a lack of trust, where their parents strongly agreed with such remarks. Thus, both their individual remarks and their total scores were more trusting than their parents, but they were far from being completely trusting about their relationships with other people in New York.

Modernity. The final value used to examine adaptation to the mainland is the modernity scale which is based on a series of ten questions.[11] Once again, differences proved to be statistically significant. This group of young people are indeed more "modern" in their orientation that their parents are.

Among the questions asked, there were several where the differences between parents and children were particularly apparent. The area of religious belief seemed to be a critical one. Although both groups tended to rate "planning" as important for the future of the United States, the primary choice of the older group was the "help of God." In contrast, their children were likely to select "hard work" as the key factor. Similarly, where slightly more than one-half of the parents believed that someone could be a good person with no religious belief, about two-thirds of the young people agreed with this statement. The father who stressed that the problems in this country were because the people have "forgotten God" and the mother who condemned "Americanization" because she associated it with a harmful modernization reflected the more traditional attitudes. The man who found life too complicated and "people more sinful here" would probably agree, but his children and their children were not likely to concur. An indirect confirmation of these different perspectives and interests is the fact that the parents were more likely than the children to express an interest in news about religion.

Another area where substantial differences appeared is in the question of the morality of limiting the number of children in a family. Although the majority of both groups did not think there was anything wrong with such limitations, a far greater number of the older group saw a moral problem here. Furthermore, the individual comments of the various participants gave a strong indication that the disagreement on this issue extends to many areas of family life and the sex roles within it.[12] The father who reported proudly that he forbade his daughter to show an interest in a professional career because he thought it would harm her prospects for a good marriage would find no support among the younger generation in this study. Indeed, one daughter complained bitterly that her parents never considered the possibility of a profession for her. Their only concern was and is that she be a good wife. Her wish, on the other hand, was to complete a college education.

Aside from individual comments such as this one, the role of women in society seemed to be more of an issue for the daughters; their mothers failed to express much concern about this point. One of the younger women noted very strong discrimination against women, particularly with regard to employment opportunities. Others addressed the position of women in Puerto Rican society and attributed their low status to the traditional "macho" attitude of men and the acceptance of this attitude, which one woman characterized as "old-fashioned and sexually hung-up," by women themselves. Once again, this was only mentioned by the younger women who had a more modern attitude than their parents.

Similarly, within the marriage relationship itself, some of the younger women in this study, in contrast to their mothers, were seeking a new and expand-

ed role. Several commented that some Puerto Rican traditions were too strict. In particular, the view of the wife as having a place only in the home and not in the larger society came under attack. These women felt that they needed more freedom and that men were too dominant in marriage. Others commented that their husbands had also changed their traditional ideas and were not as strict as in the past. For them, marital communication and not control was the centerpiece of a happy marriage. Here, too, the individual comments of the daughters indicated an acceptance of a view of marriage which has moved away from the traditional views of their parents and toward a more modern perspective.

An additional item in this modernization series where there were major differences between the two groups was whether it is important to understand the ways of other people. Less than 40 percent of the parents agreed with this statement, but more than 60 percent of their children also did. Clearly, this open attitude toward the ideas and customs of other people indicates an acceptance of American society and is a further sign that the 100 children in this study are becoming more modern in their beliefs as well as in their practices.

As in the case of trust, this change between the two groups of people in this sample is, therefore, an indication of acculturation to American society. While there are some traditional Puerto Rican attitudes, such as the "machismo" of men and the need for women to stay at home, that are involved here, in general, this modernization movement among the young people can be viewed as one toward mainland values rather than as a rejection of traditional Puerto Rican ones. Either way, however, it is further evidence of the pattern of acculturation that is clear in other areas. The married children in this sample are certainly much closer to the mainland values and ideas than the parents are.

The value of the data source that has been used here is particularly evident in the availability of the responses of parents and their own children. The stronger adherence of the parents to each of the values that have been advanced here as typically Puerto Rican has provided additional verification for these values. This is confirmed not only by their scores on the individual variables, but also by the personal comments that were made on various items. Similarly, for the values that were used to look for acculturation toward the ideas of the mainland, the older people in this sample provided further evidence of their appropriateness. They were comparatively less trusting than their children in their approach to New York and its people, and less modern in the sense in which it has been defined here. Again, their individual comments were able to provide further qualitative confirmation of what their scores on these two values indicated. Thus, for the five values examined, the position of the parents in this sample vis a vis their children demonstrated that they were good choices to use to measure acculturation in New York.

The position of the parents on each item has also been used as a standard by which to measure the progress of acculturation among their children. Here the findings show that profound changes are taking place among these young Puerto Ricans in New York. The differences were found to be statistically significant in every case except one. Although the fathers in the sample were more likely to profess an entirely Puerto Rican identity than their children were, the differences were not great enough to be statistically significant. However, in every other case they were. The 100 young people neither knew Spanish as well nor employed it as frequently as their parents. Instead, they were more proficient in English and, thus, more likely to speak it in their daily lives. This pattern of acculturation is equally evident in their values and attitudes. The 100 children were very different from their parents. Furthermore, these young people were moving away from the traditions of Puerto Rico toward mainland attitudes. It is evident that this group of 100 Puerto Ricans are acculturating at a rapid rate in New York. This is confirmed both by their differences from their parents in each area and by their own personal comments on the questions that were asked.

The one area that does provide an exception to this pattern is that of identity. Despite their movement away from Puerto Rican norms toward those of the mainland in every other area, not one of these 100 people chose an entirely American identity. Even when the content of Puerto Rican culture, in terms of language and values, is losing its relevance in their daily lives, the island retains its importance for their identity. In a sense, they have chosen to remain bicultural in their outlook, retaining their connection with Puerto Rico despite their increasing cultural distance from its heritage.

Thus, at first glance the evidence of this study appears to be somewhat contradictory. Clearly, these 100 young adults, who are the central focus of this study, are acculturating fairly rapidly toward mainland standards both in language and in values. Nevertheless, they are still very much Puerto Rican or, at least, Puerto Rican-American in their view of themselves. It may be true, in the words of one man in the study, that "To survive, you must assimilate." It appears to be equally true, however, that to assimilate well, to adapt successfully to a new and sometimes hostile environment, you must know who you are. In assuming a distinctive identity in American society, these 100 Puerto Ricans have undergone dramatic changes in mainland society. All the evidence here indicates that despite these changes they have retained Puerto Rican culture as part of their identity as Puerto Rican-Americans.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. These values have been chosen on the basis of actual studies of Puerto Rican society. Due to considerations of length this evidence cannot be repeated here, but is available from the author.

2. It is important to remember that these are grown, married children in their mid-twenties. Since their parents are in the study, there is no other satisfactory term to use to identify them. However, the fact that both parents and children are independent adults who have established their own households makes comparisons between them more interesting.

3. Rogler, L.H. and R.S. Cooney, *Puerto Rican Families in New York City: Intergenerational Processes,* Hispanic Research Center Monograph No. 11, Chapter II. Maplewood, N.J.: Waterfront Press (in press).

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. The occupation status of the husband in the older generation is considerably below that of the younger. See Rosemary Santana Cooney, Lloyd H. Rogler and Edna Schroeder, "Puerto Rican Fertility: An Examination of Socicl Characteristics, Assimilation, and Minority Status Variables," *Social Forces* 59 (June 1981), p. 1102.

7. One indication of the young people's greater reliance on English is that 75 percent of them chose to be interviewed in English; of the parents, only 9 percent did so.

8. These 100 young people have not abandoned Spanish. However, they use it less and do not know it as well as their parents.

9. This is one question where the response of the two generations corresponded almost exactly.

10. Many of the individual comments that were made about each of these values could easily be applied to changes that are occurring on the other values. Here, they are reported in connection with the value that prompted them.

11. This scale was developed by D.G. Smith and A. Inkeles, "The OM Scale: A Comparative Socio-Psychological Measure of Individual Modernity," *Sociometry* 19 (December 1966), pp. 353-377.

12. Clearly, the comments made by both generations in the area of modernity also reflect the differences between the two groups on the value of familism.

KINSHIP NETWORKS AND THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS: DOMINICAN AND COLOMBIAN IMMIGRANTS IN NEW YORK CITY*

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The relationship between migration processes and the family has received renewed attention in recent years. Most of this work has been descriptive in nature and focused on migration selectivity and decision-making at the place of origin. Scholars applying a historical-structural perspective see the family or household as a key social group that intervenes between the macro-economic forces that set the stage for migration and the individuals who ultimately move.[1] According to this perspective, migration is one among many household strategies designed to maximize household income, satisfy consumption needs, and improve job opportunities. To the extent that the household has access to kin or social groups in other communities, migration will be encouraged and facilitated.

Scholars studying the social organization of the family have also noted the importance of household structure and functioning in migration processes.[2] Just as a household is shaped by the larger economic system, it is also shaped by the larger sociocultural system which defines marriage rules, kinship rights, familial obligations, and inheritance rules. While migration decisions will be influenced by the sustenance needs of the household, they will also be influenced by the socialization standards of the household. In general, as emotional ties to the family increase, the probability of migration decreases or contributes to the maintenance of closer ties following the migration process.[3] The family also serves as a link to the larger society, and information about alternative opportunities in other areas is transmitted by the extended family group. Harbison describes this link between the family and migration:

> . . . people tend to migrate to places about which they have information and where they can expect some aid or support in adapting to the new place . . . The assurance of aid and support in the new environment increases the expectation of success.[4]

Studies of international migration patterns in earlier historical periods have also observed these linkages between family members in sending and receiving countries. MacDonald and MacDonald[5] used the term "chain migration" to describe European migrations to the United States. Chain migration refers to movements organized primarily by the migrants and is differentiated from "impersonally organized migration or movement based on impersonal recruitment and assistance."[6] Examples of the latter would include movements organized by governments, employers, shipping companies, and land companies. Chain migration is seen as accounting for differential selectivity of migrants across and within communities in sending countries. Links between kin and social groups in the sending/receiving communities serve, on the one hand, as channels for communicating information regarding opportunities and, on the other hand, as the means for facilitating the spatial transfer and settlement of migrants.

In addition to the importance of kinship ties in the migration decision-making process and in the actual migration itself, others have argued that kinship ties in the receiving countries will influence settlement and acculturation processes. Choldin[7] hypothesized that kinship ties would facilitate the migrant's adjustment in the host community. Thus, migrants who received kinship assistance would make a more rapid adjustment than migrants who did not. This line of conceptual reasoning was influenced by social disorganization theory, which stresses the need for primary group relations in complex urban society to prevent anomie. Migrants with no kin to turn to in the host community would have more adjustment problems than those with strong kinship ties. However, Choldin's research findings did not support this hypothesis. While kinship networks were involved at all stages of the migration process, he found, among the Chicago migrants he studied, that those who did not have relatives present were the most likely to seek work and leisure activities beyond the confines of the ethnic community, but the effects of kinship ties on other adjustment measures were insignificant.

Tienda[8] reviewed the literature on the effects of familism on the assimilation of immigrants and concluded that the findings were inconclusive. Two competing conceptual frameworks continue to prevail in the settlement/acculturation literature. One perspective holds that migrants with close family ties in the receiving community will be less likely than those with no relatives to seek out support networks, information, and activities with non-immigrants in the host community. As such, migrants with fewer kin ties will pick up more rapidly the requisite language and social skills that will advance their integration into the host society. The second perspective holds that the presence of relatives will facilitate the initial adjustment process and continue to provide information and training regarding host society institutions that will contribute to integration over the long run.

There have been almost no empirical tests of these two competing hypotheses. This can be attributed to both the dearth of data with appropriate measures of kinship ties and settlement/acculturation and the tendency for migration research to focus on other substantive issues such as labor market impacts of immigrants. There are some exceptions. Tienda[9] analyzed the effect of family ties on occupation and income attainment among Mexican male migrants to the United States. While the findings show that relatives are likely to accompany the migrant, meet the migrant upon arrival in the United States, and provide accommodation and other assistance during the initial settlement phase, the degree of familism is essentially unrelated to structural measures of assimilation. Tienda concluded that the major effects of kinship ties and assistance in the host country may be psychological, or a form of social insurance in the event of economic or other adjustment problems.

Using recently available data from a survey of Dominican and Colombian immigrants in New York City, this paper examines the relationship between kinship networks and the migration and settlement process. The central question that this paper addresses is the effect of strong family ties and assistance from relatives in the host country on the settlement and acculturation processes of these immigrants. Two topics will be considered: first, the characteristics of these migrants and their ties to kin in both their home country and New York City; and second, the effects of kinship ties on selected measures of the settlement and acculturation process.

Survey Data

In 1981 a probability sample survey of 904 Dominican and Colombian households was carried out in New York City. Interviews were conducted with at least one male or female in the household

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who was (1) born in the Dominican Republic or Colombia; (2) 20 to 45 years of age; and (3) resided in Queens or Northern Manhattan.* Structured life-history data were obtained on migration, background and previous residence, employment, marriage, and fertility. In addition, data were gathered on household composition, location of and interchanges with relatives, legal status at entry, and settlement and acculturation. The objective was to obtain representative data on the settlement and acculturation processes of these two immigrant groups. The interviewers were predominantly Dominicans or Colombians, fluent in Spanish and English, trained to administer the complex retrospective life-history modules, and instructed to provide assurances regarding the confidentiality of the responses.

**Hispanic areas of concentration were identified utilizing 1980 and 1970 census data, 1980 Alien Address data, ethnographic reports, and personal observations. These sources confirmed that in New York City Colombians were heavily concentrated in Queens and Dominicans in Northern Manhattan.*

Colombian and Dominican Migrants in New York City: Descriptive Overview

Dominicans and Colombians are two of the newest and fastest growing Hispanic communities in the United States. Other major Hispanic communities — Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans — are larger in size and can trace their U.S. migrations across several decades and even centuries, in the case of Mexicans. Dominican and Colombian migrations to the United States began to pick up momentum in the early 1960s, prior, it might be noted, to the 1965 U.S. Immigration Act.[10] From 1967 to 1976, the average annual number of legal immigrants to the United States from Colombia and the Dominican Republic was 6,000 and 14,000, respectively. During this same period an unknown number of Colombians and Dominicans are believed to have entered on tourist and other visas and, subsequently, to have violated the terms of their visas by remaining in the United States and/or entering the labor force. Dominican and Colombian migrations have been directed almost exclusively to New York City, although Colombians have also been settling in New Jersey and dispersing to other regions of the United States at a more rapid pace than the Dominicans. Outside of New York City, Puerto Rico is the major area that attracts Dominicans.

On selected socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, several differentials between Colombians and Dominicans, and between males and females, emerge. Compared to Dominicans, Colombians tend to be older when they arrive in the United States, come from a more urban background, and are more highly educated. Dominicans have a longer average duration of residence in the United States than Colombians, 11.3 and 8.7 years, respectively. Two measures of urban background were examined: those who resided in an urban area between the ages of 1 and 15; and place of residence prior to U.S. migration. Both of these measures confirm that Colombian and Dominican migrants to New York City are predominantly of urban background and, in the case of Colombians, over three-quarters originate in one of Colombia's four largest cities. Fewer Dominicans originate from the country's four largest cities, but the majority (60.7 percent) originate from this group of cities.

A comparison of current educational, economic, and household characteristics of these immigrants reveals other differences. Not only are Colombians, particularly males, more highly educated than Dominicans, they are also more likely to be currently attending school: 20.7 percent of Colombians were attending school at the time of the survey compared to 15.9 percent of the Dominicans. Male immigrants are more highly educated and likely to be attending school than females. Colombians are also more likely to be employed before the U.S. move, although this difference is largely due to sharp differentials in the levels of female participation. These differentials in labor force participation continue in New York. Currently, Colombians are more likely to be in the labor force than Dominicans; almost 70 percent of the Colombian females are in the labor force compared to 51.0 percent of the Dominican females. However, the participation levels of both groups compare favorably to those of the U.S. population as a whole. Sharp differences also exist between these two immigrant groups in their use of public assistance. While 45.0 percent of the Dominicans are receiving some form of public assistance, this corresponds to 20.3 percent of the Colombians. Sex differentials in receipt of public assistance can be noted, with particularly high levels among Dominican females (55.4 percent).

Household differentials also characterize these two groups. Dominicans tend to live in larger households than Colombians and have fewer household members employed and lower family incomes. An earlier analysis of the implications of household structure for the income patterns among these households found that the higher Colombian household income could be attributed to the lower incidence of female-headed households among Colombians and, concomitantly, the larger number of multiple earners within Colombian households. Thus, while the individual earnings of Colombian females were lower than those of Dominican females, the total Colombian household income is higher than Dominican because of differentials in household composition and rates of labor force participation.[11]

A comparison of marital status measures reveals other important differentials. The male migrants are more likely to be "never married" than the females, although Colombians are more likely than their Dominican sex-counterparts to report such a status. But the modal marital status for about half of the Dominican and Colombian males and for the Colombian females is stable marriage. Dominican females, however, have a much lower stable marriage rate (41.3 percent). These stable marriages are likely to be initiated after the migration for the Dominicans but before for the Colombians. Marital disruptions occur for about a quarter of both male groups and Colombian females, but for 43.8 percent of the Dominican females. In fact, the modal pattern for the Dominican female is marital disruption. Dominicans and Colombians tend to marry nationals of their home country (about 90 percent of the males and slightly lower figures among the females).

These sociodemographic differentials between Dominicans and Colombians suggest that Colombians are a more highly selected group at origin and that their employment, educational, household, and marital characteristics place them in a favorable situation compared to Dominicans for adjustment in the United States. Dominican females, in particular, stand out as a particularly disadvantaged population given their relatively low levels of education and higher likelihood of being in single-parent, female-headed households. The lower average income among our Dominican female households supports the argument that these households are more disadvantaged than those of Dominican males or of Colombians.

Family Ties at Various Stages of the Migration Process

Various measures of family involvement in the decision-making process are important to consider. The New York City data contain several measures of reasons for migration and relative ties both prior to and subsequent to the migration. A general theme in the migration literature is the importance of economic motivations underlying migration decisions. Since migration has generally flowed from areas characterized by fewer economic opportunities than the destination sites, generally the motivations are considered to be related to the sustenance needs of the households and the desire to improve job opportunities. A further line of reasoning holds that the migration decision is reached jointly by members of the household, and the individual selected for the actual migration is the one considered to have the best likelihood of obtaining employment in the place of destination.

The New York migrants were asked about their main reasons for moving to

the United States. We were surprised to observe that while the modal response by the males was "to look for work and/or improve one's economic situation," less than a third of the Colombian males gave this as their first response and less than half of the Dominican males. Thus, while economic motivations are clearly important,they do not override other factors. Family reunification was the most important response among the Dominican and Colombian females, and among 29.6 percent of the Dominican males. Of particular interest is the relatively high percentage of Colombians who said they had a general desire to come to the United States. Since these data are reported for migrants who were 1[illegible] years of age or older when they migrated to the United States, a bias in favor of family reunification and/or undeveloped motivations would not seem to be present. Inasmuch as the legal migrations from both the Dominican Republic and Colombia are disproportionately female, on the basis of these data it appears inappropriate to characterize these as primarily economic-motivated migrations.

Data were also obtained on the person mainly responsible for making the decision for the migrant's move to the United States. These data reveal that the modal response is that the individual migrant made the decision to move. But there are some sharp differences between the Colombians and Dominicans, as well as by sex. Colombian males are the most likely to report that they made the decision themselves (74.8 percent), and Colombian females are more likely than both Dominican males and females to report that they made the decision themselves (56.1 percent). Just over a quarter of the females in both communities reported that their spouse made the decision. Dominicans are much more likely than Colombians to report that their parents made the decision, with about a quarter giving this response. These findings suggest that Dominicans are more likely than Colombians to be located in social groups where migration decisions are reached jointly by household members. Nonetheless, only a minority of Dominicans fit this characterization. In subsequent work, it will be important to examine the extent to which joint decision-making is related to rural background and educational status.

The living arrangements of the migrants prior to and subsequent to the U.S. move were also examined. Very few of the migrants lived alone prior to the move and, with the exception of Colombian males, most lived in households that contained spouse/children and some other relatives. For example only 6.5 percent of Dominican women lived in a household with "spouse only" or "spouse/children," compared to 7.6 percent of the Dominican males. The most common arrangement among Dominicans is to live with their children and some other relatives prior to the migration (39.5 and 37.2 percent of the females and males, respectively). While Colombians are more likely to live with their spouses and/or their children prior to the migration, they also are more likely than Dominicans to live with "other relatives."

During the first six months in the United States, the vast majority of the migrants lived with some other relative. Dominicans of both sexes and Colombian females are more likely to be living with their spouses following the migration than prior, but Colombian males are less likely to live with their spouses. In addition, children are less likely to be present in the household immediately after the migration, suggesting that children are left behind with some other relative. While the probability of living alone or living with a friend is very low in the home country, it is more common in New York. Among Colombian males, 15.2 percent live alone during their first six months in the United States and 27.7 percent live with a friend. About a quarter of Colombian females also live with a friend following the migration, but very few live alone. This reflects a cultural pattern that emphasizes protective, traditional roles for women, while males can more readily assume independent life styles.

These data suggest that both family disruption and reunification accompany the migration process. They also suggest that familial living arrangements must be viewed in dynamic terms, recognizing that while some migrants precede the particular migrant, others follow. The vast majority of these migrants have other relatives already present in the United States when they arrive, although Dominicans are more likely to have relatives present than Colombians. These relatives are likely to be parents or siblings, particularly for the males. About a quarter of the females have a spouse present in the United States at arrival, compared to 14.8 percent of the Dominican males and 6.1 percent of the Colombian males. While two-thirds of the migrants had no other relative follow within the first year of the migration, if one did he or she was likely to be a parent, sibling or in-law.

Relative Assistance after the Migration

The presence of relatives at both ends of the migration process establishes the structure that can facilitate information flows and assistance exchanges, but it does not indicate whether such flows and exchanges actually occur. Several types of assistance can be provided during the settlement phase, from emotional and moral support to accommodations (housing, food), and from information on employment opportunities to actual assistance in locating a job. In addition to determining the assistance received by migrants, it is important to examine whether they reciprocate with assistance to other relatives and friends who wish to migrate to New York and to those who remain in the home country. The chain migration model suggests that both forms of assistance should occur as part of the dynamic social network linking sending and receiving communities. We found that relative assistance is very prevalent during the early phases of settlement of Dominican and Colombian migrants in New York City. While the average number of relatives in the United States at arrival is relatively small—4.8 and 3.7 for the Dominicans and Colombians, respectively — these persons provide considerable assistance to their migrant relatives. Dominicans have more relatives present at arrival than Colombians and, therefore, receive more assistance of all types from these relatives. Housing assistance is received by 78 percent of the Dominicans, and the majority also receive assistance with food/clothing, employment, money, and emotional support. Colombian females receive more support from relatives than Colombian males, with housing being the major type of assistance. Multiple assistance occurs rather than assistance of a single type.

While economic motivations were not necessarily primary for the majority of these immigrants, most do enter the U.S. labor force. Levels of labor force participation, particularly among the females, are high compared to those for the U.S. population as a whole. Locating employment in the host country can, therefore, be viewed as an important objective of these migrants. Since Spanish is their native language, they cannot depend readily upon newspapers and regular channels of information in the new community regarding job opportunities. The New York survey asked the migrants whether they received assistance from relatives in locating their first job and how they learned about their current job. It is interesting to observe that over 70 percent of both groups, undifferentiated by sex, learned of their current job through relatives and friends. While the data indicate smaller levels of assistance with their initial than their current job searches, this can be interpreted as reflecting the difference between assistance received directly from relatives, versus assistance received from the broader social network of relatives and friends from the same ethnic community.

In addition to assessing the assistance received by these migrants during the settlement process, information was obtained on their likely sources of assistance in the future, if they experience a financial crisis. These findings indicate that while most would turn to relatives in the United States for assistance, Dominicans are much more likely to do so than Colombians. While 60.8 percent of Dominican males would ask relatives in the United States for

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assistance, 40.5 percent of the Colombian males would. Colombians are more likely to indicate that they would also ask relatives in their home country for assistance. It is interesting to observe that female immigrants are aware that they could obtain assistance from governmental agencies and would turn to these agencies in a financial crisis: 23.7 percent of Dominican females would turn to government agencies and 19.3 percent of the Colombians. The likely sources of assistance in a financial crisis can be expected to vary by duration of residence in the receiving country. Sources of information and social networks change as residence in the host community increases. To assess this possibility, the likely source of assistance among recent migrants in the United States was examined. These data confirm that more recent migrants would be more likely to turn to relatives than all migrants and, among the females, less likely to turn to government agencies.

Not only can these migrants receive assistance through their kinship and other social networks, they may also reciprocate following their establishment in New York City by providing employment and financial assistance to their relatives back home. Previous research on the social organization of the family would lead one to expect such assistance reciprocity in a context where the ties between family members remain strong. Such social obligations are required for family members to retain membership in the family unit. While such assistance would be expected for nuclear family members who remain in the home country, the prevalence of extended family arrangements among Dominican and Colombian households may mean that a larger number of relatives beyond the confines of the nuclear family also receive remittance and other forms of assistance from New York-based relatives. Dominicans and Colombians have large numbers of relatives in their home countries even though the number of relatives present in New York City has increased following the migration. The data show that a third of the Colombians and a quarter of the Colombians have assisted relatives in their moves to the United States; a smaller number have tried to locate employment for a relative or friend prior to that person's move to the United States. Males are more likely to help friends or relatives locate employment. For those who try to obtain employment for a relative or a friend, Colombians are much more likely than Dominicans to be successful.

Remittances to relatives and friends in the sending country are another important form of reciprocity. Since large numbers of relatives may remain behind, remittances are expected as a form of familial obligation and are needed to cover the sustenance costs of the household. As was noted above, many of these migrants leave children, spouses, and parents in the home country, in addition to siblings and in-laws. The remittance patterns of Dominican and Colombian migrants to relatives in the home country were examined. While nuclear family members (spouses and children) are most likely to be receiving remittances, parents, siblings and other relatives are also recipients. In the year prior to the survey, almost 60 percent of the male immigrants and 53.6 percent of the Colombian females sent remittances. Dominican females are less likely to send remittances than other migrants interviewed.

The amount of remittances among those who sent them averaged $100 per month for the Colombian males, but under $60 for the Dominican females; Dominican males averaged $94 and Colombian females $70. These would seem to be sizable amounts given the average level of household incomes. Remittances may be expected to vary as migration weakens ties to family in the sending country and with variations in employment status and other income assistance. The data, indeed, confirm this expectation. Remittances are much more likely to be sent by recent migrants and by currently employed migrants. In contrast, migrants receiving some form of public assistance, an indirect measure of poverty status, are less likely to send remittances. Only among Colombian males does this pattern vary.

Given the absence of comparative data on assistance patterns among immigrants from other studies, it is difficult to say whether these findings show higher or lower levels of assistance than would be expected. One clear observation is that Dominican and Colombian migrants to New York receive more assistance than they report that they are now providing to others. This, however, is a static depiction of remittance flows since it can be argued that the proportion who send remittances to relatives in the home country may decrease with U.S. duration of residence, but the proportion who provide assistance to relatives who transfer to New York, either with accommodations or housing, will continue to increase over time. At least this would be the expectation if reliable data were available on patterns of remittance assistance.

Clearly kinship networks play an important role in the migration process. Whether and in what way that assistance influences the process of integration into U.S. society remains unclear. We conducted a preliminary analysis that attempts to specify this relationship utilizing one indicator of kinship assistance (the number of types of assistance received from relatives at the time of arrival in the U.S.) and several measures of the process of assimilation and integration. We found that migrants receiving many types of assistance from relatives (lodging, food, clothes, employment, money, etc.) tend to be less assimilated than those who receive fewer types of aid. In this sample, immigrant entrance into a protective environment is strongly related to: lower English-language ability, a lower tendency to use English media, lower knowledge of U.S. society, a tendency to have fewer non-Hispanic friends, less intention to remain in the United States for an extended period of time, lower occupational status, and lower income. The analysis takes into consideration other factors relevant to the process of assimilation, including rural background, educational attainment, income, sex, and the number of years already spent in the United States. Controlling for these factors, however, does not weaken the basic relationships. The present situation of Dominican and Colombian immigrants in New York is clearly influenced by the form of assistance received from relatives upon U.S. arrival. This result differs from findings in studies of Mexicans in the United States.[12] In any case, the results presented here should be viewed as a first step in an effort to specify the mechanisms that influence the process of integration of Dominicans and Colombians in U.S. society.

This paper has examined the role of kinship ties among Dominican and Colombian migrants in New York City. Chain migration characterizes these two flows inasmuch as these particular migrants are well linked into a migration system in which some relatives and friends preceded them to New York, others came with them, and still others subsequently joined them since they settled in the United States. Relatives present at the time of arrival provided multiple forms of assistance, particularly with accommodation and employment searches. In addition to receiving assistance during their settlement in New York, Dominican and Colombian migrants to New York City, particularly male migrants, continue to be an important link to relatives in the home country. Assistance has been provided with employment searches and accommodations for relatives who wish to migrate to New York, and remittances are regularly sent by the majority of these migrants to relatives in their home country.

Several studies have stressed the importance of kinship ties, both in determining who migrates in the first place and in influencing the settlement and adjustment process in the host country. Nonetheless there is no well-developed conceptual framework concerning the potential impacts of kinship ties and assistance on the subsequent life-course of immigrants. As such, a cautious approach is required in developing empirical tests of particular ideas. The dearth of both conceptual and empirical work creates a situation in which one might provide support for a particular notion without being aware of the contributions,

potentially contradictory, to the broader issue of the role of kinship networks in the migration process.

The analysis presented in this report clearly demonstrates that familial aid received at the time of first arrival in the United States does have an impact on the subsequent course of events in the life-cycle of the migrant. When the aid is more extensive, a tendency to remain within the protective confines of the immigrant community results. This tendency is not due to the differential backgrounds of those who receive different forms of aid, nevertheless some form of selectivity may be operating. Consequently, more effort is required to specify precisely the impact.

A final comment may be appropriate regarding the importance of research on family ties in the context of policy relevance. U.S. immigration policy places a major emphasis on family reunification. As such it is hardly surprising to find that kinship networks play such a major role in the decision-making and settlement processes of these migrants. Since direct recruitment of labor in foreign countries is no longer of the importance it once was in U.S. immigration dynamics, one could argue that these informal social networks provide an important subsidy to the individual migrants and even to U.S. society, since the labor of these migrants is obtained without having to absorb the human capital expenditures during their formative years. Given the importance of family networks in establishing the Dominican and Colombian communities in the United States in the past 20 years, and the large number of relatives who are potentially eligible for U.S. visas, one could argue that these flows can be expected to continue for some time. U.S. immigration policy will likely continue to favor family reunification. Certainly no one has advocated that spouses, children, and elderly parents not be admitted. Some debate exists regarding the admission of adult brothers and sisters. Thus the migration momentum developed by the initial waves will continue to be important in facilitating the continued transfer of Dominicans and Colombians to the United States in the decades ahead.

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